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much laughter. He was quite courteous to me when I visited him, but difficult to engage in conversation, and very chary of his words.

Every hamlet contains one or more huts set apart for the exclusive use of the men and boys (*tobár*). In the Bougainville villages these must be used by the boys wearing the *upi* (headgear indicating that they have not finished their puberty ceremonies, see Ch. VI), who are prohibited from entering any hut occupied by a woman. In Buka, where the boys do not wear the *upi*, their segregation is less rigid, but they may sleep in the 'men's house' if they wish. In both districts unattached men usually sleep there, and male guests from other villages are accommodated there if their visit extends overnight. The men say that this is a good idea because it prevents the visitors from meddling with the village women. These huts do not differ in any respect from the others (see Pl. 30 *b*). They vary in size according to the number of people likely to use them. There seems to be no fixed situation assigned to them in relation to the other huts of the village. In some hamlets they stand in line with the others, in some they are off to one side a little. In other places they occupy part of the ground in front of the line, if this can be arranged without encroaching too much upon the space needed for dancing. Any hut occupied by a man living alone, e.g. an old widower, may be used to house some of the boys if occasion requires. Where the *tobār* is in the middle of the village, it serves as a gathering-place for the men in their idle moments. Where it stands apart, the men tend to congregate in the front portion of the hut belonging to the *tumaun* (chief), which has a kind of porch attached to it.

Most villages are fenced except where they face the shore. In the beach villages the fence is made of stones and chunks of coral rock, in the cliff villages of saplings put in green and left to grow. It does not seem to be a survival of an old stockade, but a recent innovation, erected at the instance of the Government with the idea of keeping the pigs away from the dwellings, but as it is always full of gaps, either due to neglect or left intentionally to facilitate entrance and exit, in most cases it fails to function. On the outskirts are planted banana, bread-fruit, and other useful trees. Coco-nuts are not liked in close proximity to the huts, as the heavy nuts are apt to do damage in falling. At some place convenient for launching, there will be one or more sheds for

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343 501 keeping plank canoes (*mon*). Dug-outs are usually left on the beach, care being taken to draw them up above high-water mark.

514 No special areas are set apart for latrines. People go into the bush, as a rule not very far away, the women keeping to the area behind their own quarters at the back of the line of huts. In the case of a shore village, the men and boys wander along the beach. 364 412 Some attempt is made—rather spasmodically—to keep the village clean, each woman sweeping the area round her own hut, with a broom made of bundles of the midribs of coco-nut palm leaves, tied at one end, without a handle. One man at Kurtatchi, more inventive than the others, made a rough wooden shovel, with handle all in one piece, with which to remove pigs' dung. Different villages vary very greatly in the extent to which they are swept and cared for, and as dogs and pigs wander round freely, while everybody constantly flings down areca-nut husks, bits of coco-nut, and miscellaneous oddments, even a short period of neglect suffices to give the village a very unkempt appearance.

342 [177] *Huts*. At Petats, and a few other villages, under the tuition of the Missions, the natives now build themselves houses raised on piles, with plank walls and high-pitched roofs (see Pl. 3 *b*). But in most places, especially in Bougainville, the native type of hut still predominates, built on the bare earth, thatched with sago-palm leaves in the shape of a broad gothic arch, with the roof almost touching the ground on both sides. They are all exactly alike; their appearance can be seen from the photographs. There are no windows. At each end is a very small opening (a typical one measured 21×16 in.), serving as entrance and exit, closed by having planks set across it at night or when the hut is left empty. [439] At the present time a few natives have plank doors swung on hinges and perhaps fastened with a bolt bought at the Chinese stores. The doors are raised about 3 ft. from the ground-level, and in front of each is a sort of shelf of split areca-palm trunks, 2 or 3 ft. in width, which serves as a sitting platform or verandah, as well as an aid to scrambling in and out. 342 562 784 The end of the hut, facing the dancing space, with its entrance and verandah, is called *tagoon*, and is reserved for the men, women being allowed to use it only on certain ceremonial occasions. The women's place is at the back, called *babots*, including not only the back 'verandah' but all that portion of ground which adjoins the back of the huts, irregular in its outline because the larger huts project into it farther than the

512 [482] [226] slings of banana-fibre with a base of the heavy spathes of the areca-palm) and set off for the taro gardens, or they may tie round their waists the little baskets which they use to catch fish in the rock-pools or to store the shell-fish they collect from the reef at low tide. Almost every day a small party goes off on a bartering [437] expedition, to meet the women from some other village with goods for exchange. The more energetic of the men will be flourishing bush-knives or fishing-rods; one may seize a spear and announce his intention of going to hunt wild pig, to the huge delight of all the dogs in the village, who signify their approval in the usual canine fashion, and there is no peace in the village till he has disappeared with them into the bush. A party may be told off to [491] work on the government road in order to keep it in sufficiently good condition to avoid a scolding from the A.D.O. on his next visit. 512 Eventually, most people go off somewhere, either to work or to laze, 461 unless there is a house being built or a canoe being finished, in which case some of the men will set to work on it, in rather [883] desultory fashion. The boys wearing the *úpi* depart in a gang on some ploy of their own, the girls have either gone with their mothers or are left to look after the younger children, and usually one or two adults also remain in the village, having chosen not to work to-day. They do not like prolonged concentration on anything, and if I ask somebody, especially a young man, what he is going to do to-day, I shall very likely get the answer: 'Nothing, I worked yesterday.' There would seem really to be some justification for the universal complaint of the older men that the young men nowadays are lazy! The women do not bring back from the taro garden enough provender for more than a day or two at a time, [343] so they cannot take as many 'days off' as their menfolk do. The very few really industrious families have probably built themselves a shelter of banana leaves beside their taro patch, and will not come near the village for days together. Those who remain in the village spend a good part of the day in sleep. Women with small [853] babies, or minding those old enough to be left by their mothers, sit about on the back verandah or on prostrate logs, fondling the infants. For a time, in the early afternoon, the village is quiet.

[482] In course of time the women come back with their baskets of shell-fish or their loads of taro or firewood, carried on their backs [312] as we carry a rucksack. The little girls go off to the water-pools in the bush and return with the family's water-supply—for all purposes—in a dozen or so cleaned-out coco-nut shells.

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244 Presently a third comes up with a young tree balanced on each shoulder, with which to repair the fence where the pigs have broken through. An old man, entirely unencumbered by clothing of any description, alternately squats and stoops as he clears the patch of the ferns and grasses that tropical sun and rain so persistently replace. Balanced on a stump, beside the glowing embers at which the workers constantly rekindle their perpetual pipes, a baby opossum is being roasted to a turn. On the edge of the cleared patch a young man slashes with a long knife at the tangle of wild banana plants, ferns, creepers, and what-not that makes up the underbrush of a tropical forest where the trees are not too thick. Another young man, carrying a long spear, appears out of the bush where he has been hunting wild pig with the aid of the half-dozen or so lean and mangy mongrels which come bounding after him. With one accord they make a hungry rush for the roasting 'possum, which its owner hastens to retrieve and wrap in a banana leaf. Everybody stops work to light up pipes and listen to the woeful tale of the unsuccessful hunter, who explains why the pig got away. Presently he goes on, taking his curs with him, and work begins again.'

244 462 Although, as has been seen, men may, and frequently do, help with the weeding, the actual planting must on no account be done by them. The reason given by the women was that the men did not know how, and if they did it the taro would not thrive. Those who wish may see in this practice some connexion with the idea of fertility.

244 Taro for the daily needs of the household is continually planted, fresh stalks being put in whenever any are taken out. It is propagated only—so far as my information and observation lead me to believe—by replanting tops of tubers, with the stalks left attached. I have never seen or heard of offsets being used, as is reported by Williams for the Orokaiva (1928, p. 137). Each woman looks after the needs of her own family. But when a great quantity of taro is going to be needed for a special occasion, the whole village works [423] together on a large new clearing, the various sections of which, however, remain the private property of individuals. A man will mark out a patch for each of his wives, and one for his mother, if 244 she lives with him, or any other dependent female relative, including his sister, should she be a widow living in the same village. 343 During the process of clearing some of the more industrious

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workers often erect temporary shelters (*tanū*) of banana leaves on the spot and remain there for weeks at a time, thus saving themselves the long walk to the garden in the morning and back again at night. They bring down a minimum of household goods, a sleeping-plank and a cooking-pot, and often do not trouble to construct more than a roof and a back to their shelter.

In the olden days, when stone implements were the only tools available, large trees were brought down by burning them at their base. Now that trade axes and knives can be obtained the trees are felled a few feet from the roots, leaving the stumps standing. Trees with a food value, such as canarium almonds, are always spared. The undergrowth is cut down and left lying where it falls till it is dry; eventually it is made into large heaps and burned, except for the thick stems of the bush banana plants which contain so much moisture that they will not burn. These are arranged in orderly piles, kept in place by stakes on each side, and left to rot.

In the ordinary way taro is planted as a routine matter without any ceremonial attaching to the operation. But there are certain 'medicines' which may be used if desired. Some of these are the sole prerogative of the women, some may be used by both sexes. I have a considerable number of these 'prescriptions' in my collection, some of the more interesting run as follows:

Burutū (*Eranthemum* sp.).

Chew scrapings from the roots of this plant with the betel-mixture, spit on hand, rub shell-knife with which taro stalk is trimmed before planting, and knife (trade) with which ground is weeded. Rub also on taro. Your taro will be good when other people's is bad. Used only by women.

Magor (a mixture, described on p. 475).

Chew some *magor* with betel-mixture. Spit it on to a piece of stick which grew in the taro garden, then spit on the cut end of the stalks that are to be planted, and say: '*Ar magas nor ū mū so nuts tʃan.*' 'You and I spit on the taro, now it is large.' Used only by women.

Tʃiub (plant unidentified).

Chew roots with *magor* and betel-mixture. Spit on hand, rub on stalk of taro before planting. After doing this a man must not go fishing, and a woman must not go to the shore or hunt for shell-fish on the reef. If this prohibition is not kept the taro leaves will shrivel and dry up. The time during which it is observed was not to be ascertained.

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244 824 796 with jagged red and yellow leaves, which is always planted in the taro garden and is supposed to have the effect of making the taro grow well. Cordyline plants are frequently put there also for the same purpose.

244 796 412 343 Meanwhile the men were cutting poles about 4 to 5 feet long, scraping off the bark top and bottom, and sharpening one end. These are called *isō* and are used to make the holes in which the taro stalks are planted. They form the only actual agricultural implement used in this district, since the trade knives used for clearing bush and weeding serve also a multitude of other purposes. When each man had been provided with one of these the men all went off to the new garden and put up a shelter in the middle of it, over part of the path which ran down its whole length. The shelter consisted merely of poles stuck in the ground with a layer of banana leaves laid across them, but it served to shade a small patch of ground where the *ēto* (medicine) could be prepared, and where food could be eaten away from the heat of the sun. The large packet of ceremonial pudding was laid under this shelter, together with bundles of leaves required for the 'medicine'. The food was consumed at intervals in the course of the day's work.

244 796 [562] Pinari had gone off in the early morning to look for some special leaves in the bush. When he returned, all the men, but no women —except myself, by special invitation—collected round the shelter. The women remained outside the garden, beside the heaps of taro stalks.

[415] 244 796 One of the men made a receptacle (*kōbū*) by twisting up and tying the ends of the thick fibrous sheath of the areca-palm. This he handed to Pinari, who put inside it an old *kōbū* containing a mixture of red dust and scraps of dried leaves. This mixture was not prepared on the spot, it had been obtained a long time ago from an ancestor of Pinari's living at another village, and is very highly valued. It is kept in Pinari's chief hut, and had been brought down, carefully wrapped in banana leaves, earlier in the morning. The mixture is called *tama'uŋ*. Pinari knows how to make it, but he would have to obtain some of the materials from a distance. [868] Before he dies he will teach the secret to his sons. He told me later that the mixture consisted of scrapings from the roots and leaves of a number of plants, which I was not able to identify, some of them not found locally. These are mixed with a quantity of *magor*. The mixture thus prepared is kept for use as required,

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its head men when they require to visit the Government Station at Buka Passage, as they are called upon to do on the occasions of the annual visit of the Administrator (see Pl. 1 *a*).

There is a special series of terms for designating the size of a *mon* according to the number of *poan*:

koak, small *mon* for children to play with, or large enough for one man.
poboak,[1] *mon* with two *poan*, i.e. suitable for two paddlers and a steersman. May be used for bonito fishing.
pokukan, *mon* with three *poan*, the size usual for bonito fishing.
potana, *mon* with four *poan*.
potonim, *mon* with five *poan*.
potonom, *mon* with six *poan*.
posawun, *mon* with ten *poan*, the largest now made.

Dimensions of *mon* with three *poan*

Length, 27 ft. 4 in. from bow to stern.
Width, 3 ft. at widest part, in the middle (inside edge of *warin*).
Width of planks, about ½ in.
Depth of side plank (*warin*), i.e. total height above water, 1 ft.
Length of *waisinan*, 6 ft. 9 in., of which pattern extended for 3 ft. 6 in.
Floor, 5 planks each about 6 in. wide.

Launching of mon. Canoes are never given names. When a new *mon* is put into the water for the first time, it is carried down to the shore, from the shelter where it has been during the later stages of its construction, on the shoulders of some of the men who have worked upon it. I have seen a small one (with three *poan*) carried on the shoulders of two men. A crew of men and boys man it, and it is taken out a short distance, paddled round for a while, and then brought in and put into the shed which has been prepared for it on the shore. The men concerned in the making of it then meet in the men's house and eat ceremonial pudding which the owner of the *mon* and his friends have previously prepared. If there is any over when they have all eaten as much as they wish, they send it to their womenfolk, who eat it in their own quarters. The men who have helped in the making of a *mon* receive no payment other than this feast, but when they wish to make one for themselves they would call upon the owner for his help in turn. Any man may own a *mon*; I never heard of a woman doing so. As the labour of making

[1] These words are made up of *po* (for *poan*) prefixed to the ordinary numerals.

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501 a large *mon* is very great, and there is not much occasion for its
[426] use, such canoes are sometimes lent to other villages when required for a special occasion.

[343] The *mon* is used for long journeys, or for bonito fishing. It is kept in a specially built shed (*kek*) on the shore near a place convenient for launching. It is always carried down to the water, several men or boys helping on each side (Pl. 53), and must never be dragged along the ground like a dug-out, or it would suffer injury. At the edge of the reef, if the tide is low, or at the edge of the water if it is high, the canoe is laid down, and its crew watch carefully for a break in the surf-waves through which they can run with it, shouting in their excitement, and jumping in as soon as it reaches deep water. To watch for a favourable time to get through the surf is *warēn ia*, to take advantage of a pause in the rollers to launch it is *wasiaro* (*siaro* also means fair weather).

Paddling. Except for the seat at the stern, which is occupied by the steersman only, two paddlers sit on each *poan*, the width of which necessitates their sitting so close to each other that one wonders their movements are not hampered by the proximity. If the number of people available is insufficient, some of the *poan* may be occupied by one person only, in which case he paddles on alternate sides, otherwise there is no possibility of changing over, an amenity which they do not seem to miss. The paddle is the same as that used in the dug-out canoe, which has been described on p. 369. The paddle used by the steersman does not differ from that of the others. They take one strong stroke, with the paddle held upright, close to the side of the boat, alternating with a short stroke with the paddle held in a more sloping position and slightly away from it. Women paddle as well as men, and with equal facility. But there are certain *mon*, decorated with one particular design, which women may not enter (see p. 433), and they may not possess or use paddles ornamented with the conventional figure (*kokorra*) shown in Fig. 27 (p. 435). With a following wind, a large leaf may be held up to act as a sail, supplementing, but never replacing, the efforts of the paddlers.

502 *Voyages.* The people of the North Bougainville coast are not
484 great sailors, and seldom venture on trips more than a few miles
439 from the shore. Those of Buka, particularly the men of Lontis and Hanahan, are more venturesome, and go, on occasion, as far as the island of Nissan, a trip involving little short of a hundred